

MAY 9 1959

The
Economist

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GENERAL CHUKKOV, then Soviet military governor in Germany, issued the orders to end the Berlin blockade just ten years ago, on May 9, 1949. The four foreign ministers, Mr Acheson, Mr Ernest Bevin, M. Robert Schuman and Mr Vyshinsky, met in Paris a fortnight later, and failed to agree on any common political arrangements for all Germany; it was in that summer that the west and east German states were set up. Both sides in central Europe have used the ten years since then diligently for economic construction and military organisation ; neither has used the time to equal effect in the pursuit of a durable political settlement for central Europe, and as a result it is hard to feel any conviction that the structures of 1949 will still exist ten years from now.

When Mr Hertel, Mr Selwyn Lloyd, and M. Couve de Murville meet Mr Gromyko at Geneva on Monday, it will be the West that is insisting, and with truth, on the indissoluble connection between the government of Berlin and the unification of Germany ; while Mr Gromyko, if he follows the established Communist line reiterated from Warsaw only a few days ago by the foreign ministers of the Soviet block, will be insisting that German unity is nothing to do with the conference and "a matter for the Germans themselves." Mr Hertel, if he wished, could reply by recalling what Stalin told Mr Redell Smith during the Berlin blockade, that the Soviet action in closing the land approaches to Berlin had been made necessary by American, British, and French actions in west Germany—the decision to set up a government at Bonn, and the currency reform ; for, as a Soviet note told the Western powers in July, 1948, the agreement concerning the four-power administration in Berlin is an inseparable component part of the agreement for the four-power administration of Germany as a whole.

However, the western foreign ministers cannot make too free with this history without embarrassment for themselves, for the Russians could possibly recall in turn how the western ambassadors assured Stalin that the proposed Bonn government was not intended to be a government for all Germany, and its formation need not stand in the way of later agreement with the Russians to set up an all-German government. Circumstances since then have caused the western governments to